

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 05151 01 OF 02 140510Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 EA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 /099 W  
-----012259 140621Z /11

R 12131340Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7213  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION USUN NY  
USLO PEKING  
USINT HAVANA  
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 5151

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, PORG, YO  
SUBJ: NEW LCY PRESIDENCY SECRETARY DOLANC'S VIEWS

REF: A) BELGRADE 4884 B) BELGRADE 4758

1. SUMMARY AND COMMENT: NEWLY CHOSEN LCY PRESIDENCY  
SECRETARY DOLANC DESCRIBED FOR THE AMBASSADOR ON JULY 5 THE  
JUST CONCLUDED 11TH LCY CONGRESS AS AN HISTORICALLY SIGNIFICANT  
REAFFIRMATION OF THE PARTY'S DETERMINATION TO STRENGTHEN  
DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES, DESPITE THOSE WITHIN THE PARTY WHO  
STILL BELIEVE ONLY FIRM DIRECTION FROM ABOVE CAN DEAL WITH  
YUGOSLAVIA'S DIVERSE PROBLEMS. KARDELJ'S SPEECH TO THE  
CONGRESS (REF A) STATED THIS CLEARLY, DOLANC POINTED OUT.  
AT THE SAME TIME, DOLANC ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT WHERE  
CRITICAL QUESTIONS OF NATIONAL UNITY OR PARTY SURVIVAL ARE  
INVOLVED, THE "LEAGUE" OF COMMUNISTS REVERTS TO ITS  
TRADITIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY COMMAND ROLE. DOLANC ALSO  
EMPHASIZED YUGOSLAVIA'S DETERMINATION TO OPPOSE AS  
STRONGLY AS IT CAN CUBAN AND SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO  
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 05151 01 OF 02 140510Z

MANIPULATE THE NAM, POINTING TO THE MINIC SPEECH AT THE  
11TH LCY CONGRESS (REF B) AS A CLEAR STATEMENT OF  
YUGOSLAVIA'S UNHAPPINESS, NOT ONLY AT CUBA'S CURRENT  
ROLE IN THE NAM BUT ALSO AT THOSE "BEHIND" CUBA (READ  
USSR). HOWEVER, DOLANC INSISTED, NEITHER CONFLICTS  
WITHIN THE NAM NOR RAPIDLY DEEPENING YUGOSLAV-CHINESE

TIES HAVE HARMED BELGRADE'S RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW. "WHAT CAN THEY (THE SOVIETS) DO TO US?" DOLANC ASKED, CLAIMING THAT SOVIET LEVERAGE OVER YUGOSLAVIA IN SUCH MATTERS TODAY IS MINIMAL.

2. WE CANNOT ACCEPT ALL DOLANC'S ASSERTIONS AT FACE VALUE--FOR EXAMPLE, WE ARE DOUBTFUL OF HIS CLAIM THAT THE RAPID IMPROVEMENT IN GOY-PRC RELATIONS HAS HAD NO IMPACT ON BELGRADE-MOSCOW RELATIONSHIPS. WE WILL ALSO RESERVE JUDGMENT IN COMPARING THE 11TH CONGRESS TO SUCH TRULY "LIBERAL" LANDMARKS IN YUGOSLAV PARTY HISTORY AS THE 6TH AND 9TH CONGRESSES. HOWEVER, DOLANC RANGED WITH IMPRESSIVE CONFIDENCE AND DIRECTNESS OVER ALL THE SUBJECTS DISCUSSED. HIS GLOWING ASSESSMENT OF THE 11TH CONGRESS, ALTHOUGH NO DOUBT SELF SERVING, REFLECTS A SATISFACTION AT THE CONGRESS'S OUTCOME AND A SELF CONFIDENCE ABOUT AT LEAST THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE WHICH WE

SUSPECT IS WIDELY SHARED AMONG THE LCY LEADERS. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

3. NEWLY-ELECTED LCY PRESIDENCY SECRETARY DOLANC ON JULY 5 WAS EAGER TO SHARE WITH THE AMBASSADOR HIS GLOWING ASSESSMENT OF THE JUST COMPLETED 11TH LCY CONGRESS AS WELL AS HIS (VERY OPTIMISTIC) VIEWS ON THE CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS WITHIN THE PARTY. DOLANC WAS ARTICULATE, EXPANSIVE, DIRECT, AND FRIENDLY. HE APPEARED SUPREMELY CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BELGRA 05151 01 OF 02 140510Z

CONFIDENT THAT THE PARTY HAS EMERGED FROM THE 11TH CONGRESS STRENGTHENED, WITH THE IDEOLOGICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE TOOLS TO ENSURE YUGOSLAVIA'S STEADY PROGRESS ON THE PATH TOWARD REALIZATION OF DEMOCRACY-- IF NOT IN THE WESTERN SENSE, AT LEAST IN THE YUGOSLAV "SELF MANAGING" CONCEPT OF AFFORDING INCREASING OPPORTUNITY FOR THE MAN IN THE STREET TO PARTICIPATE IN DECISION MAKING.

4. PROGRESS TOWARD "SELF MANAGING" DEMOCRACY: DOLANC POINTED TO EDVARD KARDELJ'S SPEECH AS CLEARLY AFFIRMING THE "HISTORIC" SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 11TH CONGRESS IN REAFFIRMING THE LCY'S PROGRESSIVE DIRECTION (REF A). THIS DESPITE THOSE PARTY OFFICIALS WHO "WITH THE BEST OF INTENTIONS" STILL MAINTAIN THAT THE ONLY WAY TO DEAL WITH YUGOSLAVIA'S DIVERSE PROBLEMS IS WITH A HEAVY HAND. "THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS HAS AGAIN DECIDED THIS QUESTION: THE PARTY WILL NOT BE A BRAKE TO SELF MANAGEMENT," DOLANC ASSERTED.

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 05151 02 OF 02 140610Z  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 5151

5. RELATIONS WITH THE USSR: AS PROOF OF YUGOSLAV  
INDEPENDENCE FROM SOVIET INFLUENCE, DOLANC VOLUNTARILY  
RECALLED THAT WHEN FOREIGN VISITORS WERE ACKNOWLEDGED AT  
THE 11TH CONGRESS, THIS WAS DONE IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER,  
IN CONTRAST TO PREVIOUS YEARS WHEN THE SOVIET DELEGATION  
HAD BEEN SINGLED OUT. HE POINTED OUT THAT APPLAUSE AT  
THE CONGRESS FOR VISITORS WAS MUCH LOUDER FOR ITALIAN  
PCI LEADER BERLINGUER AND AT MENTION OF THE CHINESE  
MESSAGE OF GREETINGS THAN FOR THE SOVIETS. AND DOLANC  
AGAIN REMINDED THE AMBASSADOR THAT YUGOSLAV PARTY  
RHETORIC ALWAYS CAREFULLY AVOIDS THE TERM "PROLETARIAN  
INTERNATIONALISM," AS ADDITIONAL PROOF THAT YUGOSLAVIA  
CONTINUES TO REJECT SOVIET EFFORTS TO RECREATE  
"CENTER" FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE WORLD.

6. HOWEVER, DOLANC CATEGORICALLY DENIED THAT YUGOSLAV  
RELATIONS WITH THE USSR ARE COOLING EITHER BECAUSE OF  
TENSIONS WITHIN THE NAM OR BECAUSE OF BELGRADE'S WARMING  
RELATIONSHIP WITH PEKING. WHEN THE AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED  
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 05151 02 OF 02 140610Z

SKEPTICISM AT THIS, DOLANC ASKED "WHAT CAN THEY DO TO

US?". POLITICAL PRESSURES WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE FOR MOSCOW, HE CLAIMED. AS FOR ECONOMIC PRESSURE, "ALL RIGHT, THEY MIGHT TRY SOMETHING THERE, BUT DO NOT FORGET THEY ARE OUR PARTNERS JUST AS WE ARE THEIRS." DOLANC IN AN EXPANSIVE BURST THEN ASKED THE AMBASSADOR WHETHER THERE COULD EVER AGAIN BE "ANOTHER 1968," ANSWERING HIMSELF WITH AN EMPHATIC NO. DOLANC ARGUED THAT THE USSR COULD NOT CONTEMPLATE ANOTHER PRAGUE 1968 BECAUSE "THAT WOULD BE THE END OF ALL ILLUSIONS ABOUT MOSCOW, NOT JUST IN EASTERN EUROPE BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. (AND IT COULD MEAN) THE END OF DETENTE, AND ALL THAT THEY EXPECT FROM YOU IN DETENTE."

7. TENSIONS WITH THE NAM: DOLANCE VOLUNTERRED MENTION OF THE CUBANS AS TROUBLEMAKERS IN THE NAM. WHEN ASKED BY THE AMBASSADOR WHETHER IN FACT FORMER FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC'S ADDRESS AT THE CONGRESS (REF B) HAD BEEN AIMED NOT ONLY AT THE CUBANS BUT ALSO AT "THOSE BEHIND THEM," IE, AT THE SOVIETS, DOLANCE REPLIED, "TRUE. YOUR ANALYSIS IS ABSOLUTELY CORRECT." (NOTE: SINCE THE 11TH CONGRESS AND THIS CONVERSATION, POLEMICAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND THE CUBANS HAVE BECOME EXPLICIT WITH A PRENSA LATINA ITEM DATED JULY 6 ALLEGEDLY IMPLYING THAT YUGOSLAVIA IS TRYING TO TURN THE NAM AGAINST THE SOCIALIST CAMP AND A SIGNED EDITORIAL RESPONSE IN SHARP TERMS APPEARING IN BORBA JULY 8, REPORTED SEPARATELY.)

8. INTRA PARTY RELATIONS: ASKED BY THE AMBASSADOR WHETHER THE REQUIREMENT TO CONSULT AND COMPROMISE WITH REPUBLICAN PARTY LEADERS DOES NOT COMPLICATE DOLANC'S RESPONSIBILITIES AS A NATIONAL PARTY LEADER, DOLANC

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PAGE 03 BELGRA 05151 02 OF 02 140610Z

ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IN ONE SNESE THIS IS TRUE. BUT IN THE LONG TERM, DOLANC CLAIMED, CONSULTATION WITH REPUBLICAN PARTIES ON ALL IMPORTANT MATTERS IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL IF THERE IS TO BE COOPERATION IN CARRYING OUT POLICIES. ON THE OTHER HA

U, HE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT "DECENTRALIZATION" AND "SELF MANAGEMENT" CANNOT PROGRESS AS FAR WITHIN THE PARTY ITSELF, ESPECIALLY IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN PARTIES AND THE LCY, AS THEY HAVE IN ECONOMIC AND STATE ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS. WHERE VITAL INTERESTS OF NATIONAL UNITY AND/OR PARTY SURVIVAL ARE INVOLVED, DOLANC SAID "WE REGARD OUR PARTY MORE AS A PARTY THAN AS A LEAGUE OF PARTIES." DOLANC CITED "OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE, OUR COUNTRY'S INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY...AND ALSO CERTAIN PRINCIPLES WHICH ONLY THE PARTY CAN DEFEND, SUCH AS SOCIALIST OWNERSHIP OF THE

MEANS OF PRODUCTION. THE PARTY WILL NEVER ALLOW THESE  
PRINCIPLES TO BE ATTACKED." (NOTE: KARDELJ WAS CAREFUL  
TO MAKE THE SAME POINT IN HIS SPEECH TO THE 11TH CONGRESS,  
REF A).  
EAGLEBURGER

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